1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

121 The first objective, therefore, was to obtain information on kinship and sociopolitical structure, and because Cautinche gave promise of yielding reliable and concrete data, intensive field work was initiated at that small reservation of seventeen households, about each of whose inhabitants it was possible to obtain precise sociologic information. Comparative and supplementary studies were then made at Carrarriñe and Renaco.

Another factor that strongly influenced the direction of the investigation was the knowledge that the Araucanians were currently in a state of cultural transition, having only recently been pacified and settled on fixed reserves. This situation provided an excellent opportunity to study the dynamics of cultural change, a topic with which I have become increasingly concerned in recent years. It likewise helps to explain why the neighborhood of Cholchol was so readily selected as a center of operations. All studies of cultural dynamics require a sort of base line in time and space from which variations can be determined, and it happens that Richard E. Latcham, one of the most diligent students of the Araucanians, had done much of his field work about half a century ago in the vicinity of Cholchol.[7]

In brief, this report is concerned with the recent and contemporary culture of the Araucanians who live just north of the Cautín River in south central Chile and has four major objectives: to report new information acquired in the field, particularly with respect to kinship and sociopolitical organization; to fit these aspects of Mapuche life into the total picture of their current culture; to augment existing data and to suggest fresh interpretations on the basis of first-hand observations; and to project the present situation against the tribe's former customs, with a view to gaining an insight into the dynamics of culture change.

● 104 Since many native and Spanish terms are included in the text, mainly for purposes of exact identification, it is necessary

[7] Latcham, 1924, p. 250. For a sketch of Latcham's life, and a complete bibliography of his works, see Lothrop, 1945.

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to explain the system of transcription. Spanish words are given in their standard form, but Mapuche terms are rendered according to the method employed by Fray Félix José de Augusta,[1] with the following exceptions: inverted *e* will be represented by *u*, hooked *n* will be written as *ñ*, and elongated *s* will be given as *s*. The plurals of all Mapuche words will be made by the addition of *s*.

Before closing this introduction I wish to call attention to the great need for additional studies of Araucanian culture. Opportunities still exist for investigations both north and south of the Cautín River. In addition to whatever contributions may be made by the publication of this monograph, it is hoped that it will stimulate other anthropologists to exploit the rich potentialities for field research that yet remain among the Araucanians of Chile.

[1] Augusta, 1916.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

THE ARAUCANIANS

By JOHN M. COOPER

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT[1]

131 Middle Chile, the earlier habitat of the *Araucanians*, extends from lat. 30° to 43° S. and falls into two divisions, northern Middle Chile, 30° to 37°, and southern Middle Chile, 37° to 43°, which correspond [101] fairly closely to the accepted tribal division of the Chilean *Araucanians* into the *Picunche*, and the *Mapuche-Huilliche* (map 1, *No. 17*; 133 map 5). To the east runs the Andean Cordillera, reaching an average altitude of about 15,000 to 20,000 feet (5,000 to 6,000 m.) through much of its length, and toward the ocean the coastal range, averaging about 1,000 feet (300 m.) in altitude with a maximum of around 7,000 feet (2,300 m.). Between the two ranges lies the great Central Valley, extending with few breaks the whole length of Middle Chile. There are many passes through the Andes. Those most used in Colonial days were the high-altitude Uspallata pass to Mendoza and the low-altitude one east of Villarica. Snowfall is unusual in the 132 Central Valley, but is abundant in the Cordillera.

In northern Middle Chile, the *Picunche* country, north of the Bío-Bío River, precipitation is light, with a Mediterranean climate, of rains in the winter and drought in the summer. From the southern limits of the desert proper at Coquimbo to the Bío-Bío River, precipitation gradually increases. Vegetation is dry forest, of the chaparral 137 type, with acacias and laurels typical.

[132] In southern Middle Chile, the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* country, precipitation is heavy, and occurs throughout the year. The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío-Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area, with a markedly humid climate. Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches (*Notofagus oblíqua* and *N. dombeyi*, respectively), and cypress (*Libo-*

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[1] Since certain *Araucanian* tribal names, such as *Huilliche*, *Pehuenche*, etc., are so well established in anthropological usage that change of customary spelling would look strange, and since most of our sources give only imperfect information on the exact pronunciation of native *Araucanian* words, especially of the vowels, it has not proved feasible or advisable to adopt a uniform system of transcription throughout the present paper. The chief phonetic equivalents used herein are: *ch*, as Spanish *ch*; *hu* before *a*, *e*, and *i*, as English *w*; *gu* before *e* and *i*, as *k*; *c*, as *k*; *ll* and *ñ*, the *ly* and *ny* sounds respectively, as in Spanish; *ŋ*, as *ng* in English *ring*; *ü*, close to labialized French *u*.

In scientific identifications of native plants and animals, the writer has in most cases followed Lenz (1904–10), Félix José de Augusta (1910), Gusinde (1936), and Moesbach (1936).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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124 own environment. (For details of the method see Hilger, 1954, pp. 25-42.) The same plan was followed in studying both the Argentine and Chilean Araucanians to facilitate a contemplated comparative study of the two groups.

Instances of incomplete data are due to the difficulty of getting the information. It took time and a cautious approach to establish rapport, especially in Chile, as the Araucanians are a proud, sensitive, and intelligent people. Questioning an informant after he had given an account was a reflection on his ability to give it accurately the first time; it irritated and annoyed. Also, I was warned by interpreters against interruptions during interviews, as these were clearly considered bad manners.

Checking, too, was difficult at times. "Do you not believe so-and-so? I have been told that he described that to you last week." Fortunately, interpreters (non-Araucanians) could often confirm information; they knew the Araucanians and their ways, having been closely associated with them for years—in Chile as herbalists, missionaries, or teachers, and in Argentina as benefactors and/or collectors of folklore. Information given by children was immediately and spontaneously checked by all other children present.

When a trait was not found in more than one area, the particular area in which it was found is recorded, in order to facilitate future checking. Variations within a trait are recorded as such.

The reader may find details too numerous or too minute, but they are intentionally so because there is a dearth of printed material dealing with the ethnography of the Araucanians, and also because the opportunity for collecting such details is rapidly coming to an end, especially in Argentina, at the present forced rate of acculturation.

With few exceptions informants are not identified with information recorded. To quote a Chilean informant, "The Mapuche (Araucanians) around here know that I am telling you our customs, and that is all right; but I do not want them to know what it is that I have told you. That is not important anyway. What is important is that it is the truth, and I am telling you the truth." A list of informants is given on pp. xix-xx.

The interpreters gave assistance in selecting informants, places, and occasions for observations, and in checking. It was upon their word and assurance that the Araucanians accepted me.

● 101 All Araucanian words were checked for spelling against the Diccionario of Félix José de Augusta (1916) if they could be found there. Should the reader wish to use the Diccionario, it is suggested that he first consult the "Phonetic Key to the Araucanian Language" (Ap-

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pendix A) for pronunciation. Since the Araucanian language adds no "s" to form the plural, none is added here unless the word has been adopted into the Spanish language.

The word "primitive" is not used in this study, as the Araucanians do not consider themselves primitives. Nor is the word "Indians" used; to the Araucanians it is a humiliating term, used by Spaniards, Chileans, and Argentines in the days of conquest in Argentina and of attempted conquest in Chile. In Chile, the Araucanians speak of themselves as Mapuche; in Argentina, as manzaneros or paisanos. I speak of them in the terms of the literature, namely as Araucanians.

Unless otherwise indicated, the illustrations are from photographs taken by me in the field.

The official exchange of currency in Chile in 1946-1947 was 30 pesos for an American dollar.

The data for Part I were collected by the writer and Margaret Mondloch, her field assistant, while in residence among the Araucanians in Chile from November 1946 to April 1947.

Araucanians were interviewed in areas designated as more conservative than others by Monsignor Guido Beck (Vicar Apostolic of the Araucanía) after he had conferred with fellow Capuchin missionaries of all areas occupied by these people. Monsignor Beck had spent 40 years among the Araucanians; the other missionaries, 10 to 50 years. The areas selected were Alepúe on the Coastal Range and Coñaripe in the Andes, both in the Province of Valdivia; and Licán in the lowlands of the river Toltén in the Province of Cautín (cf. fig. 1). Alepúe was reached on horseback; Coñaripe, by boat across Lake Calafquén. Since time did not permit a visit to Licán, informants from Licán were interviewed with those in the Boroa area en route to Licán. The area about Panguipulli (a Chilean lake port on Lake Panguipulli, en route to Argentina) was included because Father Sigifredo Fraenshlaul (Capuchin missionary among the Araucanians for 50 years) had interested Domingo Huenun in our study. Huenun was an Araucanian who could not well be bypassed without discourtesy—fortunately so, as we soon learned, as he was one of our best informants in the Chilean study and later a reliable source when checking information collected among the Argentine Araucanians (1951-1952); he was intelligent, accurate, truthful, most informative, and proud of the culture of his people. He and Father Sigifredo had assisted Father Félix José de Augusta in the compilation of the latter's 2-volume Diccionario (1916), where his name is given as Domingo Huenuñamco (vol. 1, p. xiv). Research, therefore, was not new to him.

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APPENDIX A. PHONETIC KEY TO THE ARAUCANIAN LANGUAGE

The equivalents listed below will indicate rough approximations to the Araucanian sounds. They are based on transcriptions made by Félix José de Augusta for his Diccionario (vol. 1, p. xiv, 1916) and his Lecturas Araucanas (2d ed., pp. v and vi, 1934), and on observations made by the writer while in residence among the Araucanians in Chile during the field work of the present study. 104

a as in car
ch as in church
d a sound between d in day and th in thing
e like a in may
f like v in evening
i as in inner
j like j in French je
k as in kitten
l as in lay
ll as in million
m as in man
n as in not
ñ like ng in German Stange
o as in colon
p as in pan
r as in Spanish pero
s as in sack
t as in tongue
tr like ch said with force
u like oo in cool
w like oo in foot
y as in yet
l', n', and t' pronounced with tip of tongue between teeth nearly closed (Félix José used a dot in place of an apostrophe)
ü pronounced like the German u but with much force and from the throat as if gargling without water
ö pronounced in the same manner as ü but with less force

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chacarerñ--includes maize, potatoes, beans, peas, and other vegetables which may be grown both as field or garden crops
división--the division of reservation land into individual titles after the voting by reservation inhabitants to give up reservation status
fundo--large land holdings
kureyewen--the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen
lakutun--the ceremonial naming ceremony
lofche--extended family groups living in adjacent houses
longo--a kinship elder
machi--shaman
mediero--a sharecropping system which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage
mingaco--communal labor
ñillanthungung--marriage discussions between the two families involved
ñillatufe--ritual priests
parcela--small land holdings
radicación--original registration, establishment of reservations
radicado, a--male or female registered at the time the reservation was established
vuelta mano--work done on a reciprocal basis
weupin--orators who represent the patrilineage of a deceased individual

admapu -- customary law
am -- the soul
antipaillamko -- "hawks of the sun," a term used to symbolize all ancestoral spirits
awn -- the funeral ceremony
eltun -- cemetery
huampu -- coffin
kalku -- sorcerer-witches
kalkutun -- the ceremony performed to detect witches
kamañ -- officials at the Ñillatun ceremony
kapuka -- the god and goddess of abundance
koochotun -- a formal and public demonstration of special friendship, involving the sacrifice of a lamb: a loose-binding blood pact
kutkawin -- the funeral wake
lakutun -- the naming rite
l'ayen -- a term used to refer to a corpse while it is indoors
llani -- the secondary altar in the Ñillatun ceremony
llupe -- the ritual fire
lofche -- an extended family group
lonko -- lineage head and chief (political leader of unrelated lineages)

machi -- shaman (female)
machitun -- an elaborate curing ceremony
malatun -- a ceremony connected with the distribution of bride price
minchemapu -- grave (infrequently used term)
mingaco -- a cooperative labor venture
miñke -- the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizing that the individuals so related are incapable of desiring to harm one another
nguillatun -- see hueiluwün
Nguenechen -- the supreme being for most Mapuche
Nillarumi -- the ritual priest
Nillatun -- the great agricultural fertility ceremony
pillan -- the spirit helpers of the shaman
pillantun -- see machitun
purun -- a type of dance
ramadas -- cubicles made of boughs which serve as shelters for the assembled families and guests at the Nillatun celebration (Spanish term)
ruka -- the witch's cave
rewe -- a step-notched carved pole outside the shaman's house which the machi climbs during certain ceremonies
wekuf -- placing of gifts in a coffin

thungulmachin -- an aide to the shaman who relates to her those things that she has spoken of while possessed by a spirit
trafkin -- the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons indicating that the individuals involved intend no harm to one another
ülmen -- wealthy men
weknfe -- evil spirits
weza -- evil
weupin -- formal orations, as at a funeral
winka -- outsider